

## The Formation of Colonial Landscape and Its Socio-cultural Meanings in Korean Rural Society: A Case Study of Hwaho Village, North Chōlla\*

Hahm, Han Hee.\*\* Cho, Sung Sil.  
Park, Jin Yong and Moon, Ye Un\*\*\*

*This paper will delineate the historical and cultural meanings of the colonial landscape formed during Japanese colonization in the village of Hwaho in North Chōlla province. The Japanese began arriving in Korea starting in the early 1900's. Once Japan colonized Korea officially in 1910, the Japanese moved in on a larger scale. They established Japanese communities in the midst of Korean communities regardless of what type of Korean community was already established, be it village, town, or city. The newly-formed Japanese communities in Korea looked exotic and authoritative to the colonized people. They began to be viewed as symbols of colonial domination. In addition to residential houses there were also administrative buildings and commercial shops. In rural areas, particularly those in the North Chōlla plains which were known to be one of Korea's granary regions, rich Japanese landlords purchased vast tracts of agricultural land and established large farms along with offices, residences, storage facilities, commercial shops, schools and religious institutions. These new Japanese communities were seen as quite different from the Korean communities in both structure and form.*

*I selected the village of Hwaho in North Chōlla as the location for my fieldwork because the Japanese community still remains intact, including the old buildings, houses, school, as well as other sites and fields. More importantly, some old villagers in their 80's experienced the colonialism. Many studies on the colonial landscape in Korea have focused on cities such as the capital, Kyōngsōng (Seoul), and four other cities, Inch'ōn, Pusan, Mokpō, and Kunsan, which were frontier cities in terms of both modernization and colonialism since they were treaty (open) ports to foreign vessels in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. In comparison to scholarly*

---

\* Translated from the article published in *Korean Cultural Anthropology* vol. 43, no. 1, 2010, with permission from the Korean Society for Cultural Anthropology.

\*\* Professor, Department of Archaeology and Cultural Anthropology, Chonbuk National University.

\*\*\* Graduate students, Department of Archaeology and Cultural Anthropology, Chonbuk National University

*attention to cities, the colonial modernization of farming areas attracts far less attention even though the farming villages actually experienced colonial modernization to a greater extent than cities. Aware of the importance of farming village's colonial modernization seen through the colonial landscape, I decided to study the village of Hwaho. I will examine study four aspects of colonial modernism in a Korean farming village: 1) the formation of the Japanese community and its socio-economic background, 2) the specific characteristics of colonial landscape of Hwaho, 3) the newly established socio-economic hierarchy in the village upon the arrival of Japanese immigrants including big and small capitalists and petty farmers, and 4) cultural meanings of the colonial landscape and its effect on the Korean villagers. Lastly, I discuss the characteristics of colonial modernity based on what the villagers experienced.*

**Keywords:** Colonial landscape, Landscape of farming village, Colonial modernity, Japanese Immigrants' Village, Kumamoto farm, Dual Structure of Colonial Space, Korea

## I. INTRODUCTION

The Formation of Colonial Landscape and Its Socio-cultural Meanings in KIn this article, we investigate the historical significance and the cultural meanings of a village in North Chōlla that experienced transformation under Japanese colonial rule.<sup>1</sup> When Chosōn Korea was annexed by Japan in 1910, Japanese migration to Korea began. Japanese migrants established their own exclusive settlements in urban and rural areas in what were called the Japanese Residents' Villages, Districts or Areas. These districts displayed an authoritarian contour that functioned as a symbol of Japanese colonial rule.

In addition to residential homes, there were also buildings for administration and commerce in these districts as well as. Districts in rural areas contained Japanese landlords' offices, houses, and warehouses in addition to commercial, educational, medical, and religious facilities. The appearance of these Japanese residents' districts contrasted sharply with the Korean villages.

We focus on Hwaho village because it has not changed much since

---

<sup>1</sup> This research is a part of the "near past" studied by the Research Group for People's Life History in the 20th Century that published a collection of photos of the village concerned entitled *Hwaho Village of the Twentieth Century: Its Landscape and Our Memories of It* (2008).

Japanese rule. The village is currently under the jurisdiction of Sint'aen, Chongup, in North Chōlla. Villages like Hwaho village in rural communities began to transform at the beginning of Japanese rule have not received significant attention from Korean scholars.<sup>2</sup> Most of the research has centered on the emergence of large cities like Seoul and newly opened ports like Inchon, Pusan, Mokp'o, and Kunsan.

Hwaho village has undergone some modernization as a result of the Japanese colonial government's policies. Given the level of preservation in Hwaho village, it is possible to see how Hwaho village was during Japanese rule, in contrast to most of what was constructed by the Japanese authorities in other villages that have since vanished. Since liberation in 1945, Korean villages have been forced to change, their transformation influenced mostly by the repercussions of the Korean War and the post-War economic development policies launched by the central government, including the five year economic development plans through the 1960's and the new village movement through the 1970s.

Hwaho provides a good example of the few villages that survived the governmental drive towards modernizing traditional villages. In Hwaho, many Japanese-style houses that were constructed in the 1910s through 1930s still exist. But the houses have not been preserved very well. Some are in such poor condition that they are barely still standing but, nonetheless, these Japanese-style houses that have withstood the test of time serve as witnesses to the colonial era.<sup>3</sup>

In this article, we first investigate the formation of the Japanese Residents' District and socio-economic changes on-going in the historical background. Second, we examine the internal organizations of the District and the relationships between/among them in order to delineate the colonial features

---

<sup>2</sup> There have been studies on the improvement or development of farmland in rural areas. For instance, some researchers revealed that rural villages changed as projects of reclamation of land, irrigation works, and the readjustment of arable land were carried out to coincide with the introduction of modern agricultural technology on agricultural land during Japanese rule, (Refer to Yu, J. 1990; Hong, K. 2008).

<sup>3</sup> In the case of Hwaho, as a result of the New Village Movement, the roads were paved and some houses changed their roofs from thatch to tile. But the roads and the houses that were constructed during the Japanese era remain intact.

of the District. Third, we analyze the social structures of the District with respect to the colonial features and the socio-economic activities of the Japanese residents. Fourth, we inquire into the Korean residents' responses to the District as well as the changes in their perception of the District, as these residents were exposed to colonialism and modernity to some extent through their contact with the Japanese residents. This work will enable us to look into the realities of modernity that the Korean residents perceived and experienced.

## II. REVIEWING THE STUDIES OF COLONIAL LANDSCAPE

The root of "landscape" is based on the word that was used professionally among painters.<sup>4</sup> Painters paint the landscape that they observe in terms of their own artist sense. Even if every painter paints the same landscape at the same time, they do not produce the same likeness of it. Each painter has his/her own artist's eye. Based on the realization of this fact, scholars of humanities and social sciences began to pay attention to landscape (Stewart and Strathern 2003: 2). As a result, the term "landscape," meaning the shape and form of nature, is used among scholars connotes a product of cultural process.<sup>5</sup> In recent anthropological studies there is an increasing number of cultural studies that focus on constructed objects within cities and villages (Gupta and Ferguson 1997; Hirsch and O'Hanlon 1995; Stewart and Strathern 2003). In short, "landscape" as a concept as a product of cultural process allows us to analyze the cultural landscape more easily.

Most of the recent studies of cultural landscape undertaken in Korea focuses on colonial landscapes of cities. The Japanese colonial government carried out modern city planning that included the expansion of the existing city, changes in its appearance, and the creation of new usable space. Public offices and buildings for commercial use were constructed. Residential

<sup>4</sup> Stewart and Strathern (2003: 2) indicate that, according to *Oxford English Dictionary*, "landscape" is derived from the word that served as a professional term for painters.

<sup>5</sup> In relation of conceptualization of "landscape," Sauer, a geographer, initially coined the concept of "cultural landscape" (Sauer 1963: 343; Hirsch and O'Hanlon 2003: cf. 9)



districts were divided and roads were built or widened.

Researchers have dealt with such topics as the policies governing city development, the types and functions of the city, and the use of land and the spread of population. In some studies on Seoul, researchers have clarified that the Koreans' residents' districts in Seoul were separate from those of Japanese residents; modern styled buildings which served as symbols of colonial rule were constructed and commercial areas developed, along with an increased use in land (Kim, B. 2003; Kim, Y. 2000; Yi, K. 2001; Yi, H. 1992). In some studies of ports such as Kunsan, Mokp'o, and Pusan, researchers also looked at similar topics. They investigated the structural features of the internal space of the newly built city within a port jurisdiction and framed by colonial modernity (Ko, S. 2004, 2007; Kim, J. 2006; Pyon, H. 2004; Yom, B. 2004; Yun, J. 1985; 1990). In particular, Ko, Sok Kyu pointed that the Korean residential districts were separated from the Japanese residential districts, which signified not only racial discrimination but also class hierarchy. He further argued that commercial facilities, educational, and religious institutions were established within the Japanese residents' districts to demonstrate the superiority of Japanese culture (Ko, S. 2007: 170).

Some studies examine the transformation of cities with respect to colonial modernity. These researchers contend that colonialism and modernity together led the city to change (Kim, D. 2004: 14; Pak, S. 2007: 59; Song, D. 1999, 2001). Colonialism was embodied in measures taken by the colonial government such as consolidating symbolic colonial leadership and authority, unilaterally introducing an overriding culture, and economic exploitation. At the same time, modernity was introduced by establishing social order, maximizing efficiency, respecting scientific thought, and appreciating hygiene and sanitation. Researchers studying city planning under Japanese rule believed that city planning itself reflected both the colonialist motive and the modernist design in that the Japanese colonists planned to build modern cities in their colony in terms of aesthetics. They also argue that the progress of modernization in cities resulted in a widened gap between urban societies and rural communities (Pak, S. 2007). We hesitate to agree with this argument now that we are able to verify that modern buildings symbolizing the colonial authority were constructed in agricultural villages as well.

Studies examining planned cities in terms of the cultural landscape have

deepened our understanding of the realities of Japanese colonial rule. We have based our research on the past studies and therefore owe much to them. On the other hand, we will overcome the limits of preceding studies. Generally speaking, past researchers tended to view cities from a landscape perspective rather than from a cultural perspective even though their work included the concept of the cultural landscape. In this study, we will put greater emphasis on the cultural perspective while still respecting the landscape perspective. We will pay more attention to a villager's point of view. How did the villagers perceive the emergence of new buildings built in the Japanese style in their villages? How did they respond to that? We believe that, by answering these questions, we will have a wider view of both the subjectivity and the identity of the villagers as learners of modernity. In this sense, this research may comply with the recent trend in Korean scholarship to attempt to redefine the nature of the Japanese colonial rule from a historical and cultural perspective (Ko, S. 2002; Kong, J. and Chong, K. 2006; Kim, D. 2004; Kim, J. and Chong, K. 1997; Seoul Research Center for Social Sciences, 1997; Yun, H. et al. 2006; Chang, S. et al. 2006).<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>6</sup> Researchers have disagreed vehemently about modernization under Japanese colonial rule. The advocates of colonial modernization have been pointed to the fact that Japanese rule made a contribution to the emergence of a modern Korea. But proponents of colonial exploitation objected to this argument and asserted that the colonial government stood in the way of Korea's advancement to modernization by exploiting its resources. There have been constant disputes between the two camps since the 1960's. There is, however, a growing tendency for researchers of the Japanese colonial era to be more interested in modernity rather than modernization. Seemingly under the influence of Foucault, they tend to pay more attention to the subjectivity of humans who were sensitive to discourse or knowledge rather than institutional, structural, and event centered history (Gordon 1991; Foucault 1991). With the adoption of Foucault's paradigm of writing history, Korean researchers have made attempts to clarify both the identity and the subjectivity of ones who sought a modern state in their study of colonial modernity (Kong, J. and Chong, K. 2006; Yun, H. 2006; Bhabha 1994). Most of their studies, however, have centered around the premise that those who led the modernity movement were confined to special classes like city-dwellers, intellectuals, new women, modern boys, modern girls, etc. With respect to this issue, we feel we can add villagers to that list.

### III. METHOD OF INVESTIGATION AND FIELDWORK PLACE

#### 1. Fieldwork

We heavily relied on investigating the scene in our research. We interviewed the old men and women who had personally experienced Japanese colonial rule. The interviewees consisted of three groups: those who have lived since their birth in the village, those who have lived for more than 50 years in this village after having moved there from the villages of their birth, and those who were born and lived in this village until they left to live elsewhere to join their sons or daughters. We collected many valuable materials: documents and photos that they had preserved, their own written records, and their own spoken history of themselves. We performed cross-checking to verify these materials.

We depended on the following research methods. First, we investigated the buildings, roads, and other places related to our research with emphasis on not only the shapes and locations, but the owners or users of such facilities. Second, we interviewed the residents of the village, focusing on their eyewitness testimonies as to the events, places, and their recollections of their lives during colonial rule. Third, we collected and analyzed official records and documents. We acquired copies of the land registers, cadastral maps, and village maps that Chongup City has thus far preserved. We were also granted access to documents, numerical statements, and records issued by the Government-General, North Chōlla Province, Oriental Development Corporation, and the Tongjin Irrigation Association. Those materials led us to a better understanding of the reality and nature of the Japanese colonial government's policies regarding land and agriculture. In addition, we were able to find other official documents that individuals had collected and retained over the years.

#### 2. A Survey of Hwaho Village

Hwaho village is currently under the administrative jurisdiction of Sintaiin

town, Chongup City, North Chōlla province and it is geographically located approximately 5.6 km to the west of Sint'aein town. There are three small agricultural sub-villages within Hwaho village: Yongso, Poryong, and Chongja. Yongso is located in the western part of Hwaho village, Poryong in the eastern part, and Chongja in the northern part. There had been a township hall located within Hwaho village until the year of 1914 when the township hall was moved to Sintaiin. In the same year, the construction of the Kimje-Chongup line of the Honam Railroad Line was completed and a railroad station was established in Sint'aein which allowed it to grow in significance as compared to Hwaho.<sup>7</sup> Hwaho had been a transportation hub back then, easily accessible to and from Chongup, Kimje, and Puan, including a ferry located on the Tongjin River that transported people to the port of Puan.

Hwaho has another name, Sukkuji, which literally means the land like a sleeping dog. The elderly villagers explained the origin of the name: "There was a man of high sense passing by this village in the era of Chosŏn. Observing the shape of land of the village, he said that this land was Sukkuji as a propitious site that I had heard of. And then he left the villages." The elderly villagers went further to say that, from that time on, the villagers had called their villages Sukkuji, taking pride that their villages had been identified as a propitious site.<sup>8</sup> Sukkuji is a word that expresses topographical features. To the villagers, the imagery of the word Sukkuji conveys metaphorical meanings of a propitious site, a good place for dwelling, and something good. On the other hand, relying on geomantic traditions that stress topographically favorable locations, they believe that the villages themselves guarantee prosperity and peace for their dwellers, since the

---

<sup>7</sup> The construction of the Honam (Seoul-Mokp'o) Railroad Line began in 1910. The completion of the construction of the Kimje-Chongup line coincided with the opening of the railroad station of Sint'aein. or New Taiin was newly constructed near the old town of T'aein.

<sup>8</sup> With their pride in their village, the aged said that there were nine sites shaped like a dog. That all of nine sites scattered around Puan and its vicinity, and that Hwaho was one of such nine sites. All of those were regarded as propitious, while each has its own name.

villages are already propitious sites.<sup>9</sup>

As Korea was annexed by Japan, the Japanese moved to Hwaho where a Japanese residents' district was formed. Kumamoto Rihei was the first Japanese who appeared here. In 1903 before Japan's annexation of Korea, he came to this village to begin preparation for the establishment of his farm. The lands around Hwaho and its vicinity, located in the heart of the Honam plains, were regarded as being very fertile. Thus the Japanese capitalists and agricultural immigrants were very much interested in Hwaho and its vicinity. The Japanese government launched its policies encouraging immigration to Korea and investment in it. In 1913, 25 households who were recruited for agricultural immigration by The Oriental Development Company settled in Hwaho village. These Japanese immigrants came from Kochi-Ken.<sup>10</sup> In addition, there were the Japanese who came to Korea to engage in the construction business. Others came for various other commercial purposes. These immigrants settled in Hwaho to run a blacksmith's workshop or a store or an inn. The Japanese immigrants who settled in Hwaho varied in their purpose for immigration, their places of origin, and professions. As the Japanese immigrants moved in, the contour of the Hwaho village greatly changed. And as the contour of the village changed, the economic, social, and cultural structures of the village greatly changed.

#### IV. FORMATION OF THE JAPANESE RESIDENTIAL DISTRICT

##### 1. Encroachment and Separation

“Ungbon (Kumamoto) built a storehouse for rice at the mouth of the dog.

<sup>9</sup> Geomancy is the theory of selection of favorable sites based on topography. In other words, it is the belief that good fortune can be achieved by the correct positioning of a grave, a house, and a location (H. Yun, 2001: 11).

<sup>10</sup> The villagers of Hwaho said: “They had manufactured paper in Koch-Ken until they came to Hwaho.” Also refer to the oral statement by Chong Bonghwan (“Ungbon (Kumamoto) Farm and the Japanese Residential Area of Hwaho (Part II)” (*Saichonbuk Sinmun*, December 16, 2003).

And he built house around his farm for the purpose of property management”  
(from an interview with Mr. Cho, a resident of Hwaho village)

Mr. Cho has lived in this village since birth. As mentioned above, the village is located in an area where the land is shaped like a sleeping dog. The mouth of the dog is regarded as the most propitious site. Thus, in the quote from Mr. Cho reference above, he means that Kumamoto selected the best location in the village for his storehouse (refer to Map 1).<sup>11</sup> Mr. Cho's statement suggests that, to him, colonial rule meant more than just economic encroachment. Mr. Cho believed that Kumamoto's selection of the location for his building damaged not only the pride and identity of the village but also the prosperity and peace of the villagers. This belief underlies the reason why Kumamoto's selection of the location was taken so seriously by Mr. Cho. Past studies of Korean rural society under Japanese rule focused on Japanese exploitation and how many Korean peasants were forced to become tenant farmers on land owned by the Japanese landlords.<sup>12</sup> But the Korean villagers' experiences under Japanese rule were not only confined to economic damage. They were also made to feel like the foundation of their lives had fallen away. The Japanese settled themselves at the most favorable sites within the village. The Koreans who had occupied those sites were driven out. The Korean villagers were separated from the new Japanese immigrants in terms of both physical location and culture.

Kumamoto led the Japanese colonization of Hwaho village. He built both his house and office at the place shaped like the mouth of dog that had been the holiest site to the Korean villagers. There had been an old and sacred zelkova tree that has been growing there for a long time. The villagers would hold ceremonies around the tree for the well-being of the tree. Kumamoto constructed facilities of various kinds around his house and office: a large storehouse, houses for managers, and a boarding house. The Koreans who had been living there previously were forced by the Japanese to sell their

<sup>11</sup> Kumamoto's farm office is seen in the left side of the village (Map 1). The buildings and the sites numbered 1 through 14 that were related to Kumamoto are seen in the area shaped like the mouth of dog (Map 2).

<sup>12</sup> There have been several studies, including those that have dealt with North Chölla (Pak, Y. 1997; So, S. 2003, 2005; Cho, S. 1999).

homes. The Koreans who resisted faced a purge directive.<sup>13</sup> The villagers who were forced to sell their homes moved to neighboring villages like Poryong or Chongja. Kumamoto was then able to construct buildings and facilities on the most propitious area. Latecomers from Japan also settled around the same area. The Japanese residents' district was also formed around the area shaped like the mouth of dog that is located in western Hwaho village (Yongso, sub-village). Meanwhile, the northeastern part of Hwaho village became the Korean resident's district. Hwaho was divided into two districts; one is for Japanese and the other for Koreans.

Kumamoto had an excellent business sense that was enhanced by his ability to gather relevant information. He visited Korea for the first time in 1902. At the time he was a farm manager, not a farm owner.<sup>14</sup> He also assisted Japanese capitalists who were interested in investing in land in Korea.<sup>15</sup> One

---

<sup>13</sup> According to a statement by Mr. Chong, an eyewitness, his father -in-law resisted the sale of his house and yet his house finally was forcibly removed by a group of policemen. He could not but comply with the authority. In another case, the Japanese took several horses to the village and then made them stay by the house the owner of which would not sell his house to the Japanese. The Japanese deliberately did not clean up after their horses there. The owner eventually gave up resisting and sold his house due to the offensive smell.

<sup>14</sup> Each of the participants told in their own voice about Kumamoto before he became a farm owner. With respect to this, we rely on what Dr. Yi Yongchun has told in his memoirs. Dr. Yi met Kumamoto in 1934 and then started to work as a physical doctor in the Chahye (Benevolence) Clinic established in Kumamoto's farm. He knew well about Kumamoto. Refer to the following books: Yi Yongchun's *Memoirs, A Record on My Friends* (Yi, Y. 2004) and Hong Songwon authored *The Life of Dr. Yi Yongchun: A Benevolent Art Planted in Soil* (Hong, S. 1993).

<sup>15</sup> Kumamoto Rihei came from Nagasaki-Ken. Graduated from Simonoseki Commercial School, he entered Keio University with major on finance. He visited Korea when he was still at Keio. During his stay in Korea, he traveled extensively. During his trip, he came to think that the development of agricultural land in the Honam plains was a promising field for investment. Shortly after he returned home, he contributed a report on his visit to Korea to the newspaper, *Osaka Mainichi Shinbun*. Interested in Kumamoto's report, Motoyama, president of *Osaka Mainichi Shinbun*, invited Kumamoto to his office and listened to Kumamoto's opinion on possible investment in Korea. Afterwards, He convinced Kumamoto of his investment. And then he asked Kumamoto to purchase land in Korea, promising that he would entrust Kumamoto with the management of the land purchased (Yi, Y. 2004).

year later, however, he became a farm owner; in 1903, he established farms by buying land in both Naisa village, Okku County and Hwaho, Taiin county (So, S. 2005: 108). Due to the economic recession that started in 1910, he ended up becoming a big landowner. Japanese capitalists who had bought land in Korea through Kumamoto ended up selling their land back to him. As the economy recovered, land prices in Korea increased sharply which enabled him to become the biggest landlord in North Chōlla. According to the *Administration of Chosŏn of Twenty Years*, the land that Kumamoto owned around the year 1930 are as follows: rice fields/1,266,000 p'yōng; fields/43,430 and more p'yōng; housing lots/8,700 and more p'yōng; within the jurisdiction of his branch office, there were 566,000 p'yōng of rice fields, 800 p'yōng of fields and 25,000 p'yōng of housing lots. There were 1,800 chōngbo of both fields and rice fields within the jurisdiction of his branch office in Hwaho (紫藤義雄 1930: 659-660). The area of land he owned continued to grow until 1932 when the gross area of his owned land was estimated at 3,500 chōngbo of both fields and rice fields (So, S. 2005: 108). He became an extensive landholder with his main farm in Kaejong, Okku County and his branch farms in Taeya, Chigyong, Hwaho, and Sanggwan. Finally, in 1937, he established Kumamoto Farm Corporation together with six partners.

Kumamoto built a farm office, 5 large rice storehouses, a house for a farm manager, a boarding house, and a medical clinic (Map 2) in Hwaho. He built these buildings and facilities in an area that the villagers had held sacred (Map 1). Kumamoto's selection of the location not only aroused the villagers' ire but also scared them. They had been deprived of the sacred site that they believed guaranteed them good fortune. They feared that the damaged site would bring about disaster.

On the other hand, the buildings constructed in the sacred area were modern and exotic in appearance. They were unfamiliar to the villagers and served as symbols of the arrival of a new era (Photo 2). In understanding the cultural importance of propitious sites and the colonial symbolism of new buildings, we come closer to the realities of the Japanese colonial era as experienced by the villagers.<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>16</sup> The Japanese critical of Korea's geomantic traditions and viewed them as irrational. They, however, would use Koreans' belief of geomancy for their own political purpose.



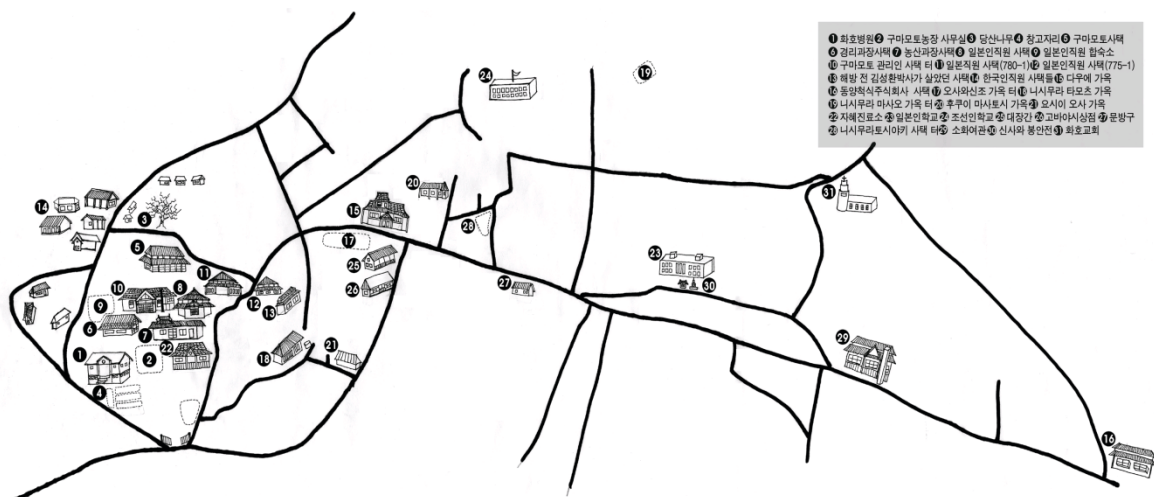


Map 1. Japanese Owned Lands in Hwaho Village

We indicate the land holdings of each landowner on a cadastral map based on the land register. Reference as to the amount of the land owned by each landowner is made in *p'yŏng*. The map was cited from *Hwaho Village of the Twentieth Century: Its Landscape and Our Memories of It* (S. Chang et al., 2008: 26-27). The serial numbers indicate ownership as follows: 1. Taue Taro 2. Tongyang Colonization Company 3. Yoshii Osa 4. Hukui Masatoshi 5. Osawa Shinjo 6. Tongjin Irrigation Association 7. Kumamoto Rihei 8. Mitsuda Kensaburo 9. Nishimura Mitsuo.

**Table 1.** Lots owned by the Japanese (unit: p'yŏng, total size: a. 832,736 p'yŏng)  
As of 1932, Taue and Nishimura co-owned the lot (cited from *Hwaho village of the Twentieth Century: Its Landscape and Our Memories of It* (Chang, S. et al. 2008: 195)

	Kumamoto Rihei [熊本利平]	Taue Taro [田植太郎]	Osawa Shinjo [大澤新藏]	Hukui Masatoshi [福井正利]	Nishimura Mitsuo [西村三男]	Nishimura Tamotsu [西村保]	Nishimura Toshiaki [西村利明]	Tongjin Irrigation Association	Mitsuda Kensaburo [水田源三郎]	Oriental Development Company
1914	36,067		17,952	121		69		1,454	14,699	96,720
1917	14								297	
1918	969								20,616	
1919	1,158									
1920	1,204평									
1921		144		189		147		169		
1922	102	13,370	386							
1923	2,409	730								
1924	560					41				
1926	38	34,777			3,526	207			6,054	937
1927				135						
1928	1,599	916				7,037				
1929			64평		459			552		77
1930	993	4,097	64평		2,476		66	4,543		1,173
1931	684	3,083				12	438	396		
1932	1,717	59,054	348평		59,054		58	26		
1933					289		176			
1934	1,769	12,749			42,829		377			
1935	50	1,744		10	1,275			222		
1936	1,539			445	3,195			291		
1937		1,248		5,657	887			545		
1938	1,401			216	459					
1939		1,301		6,008				20		
1940										
1941		277					22,317			



Map 2. Extant Houses and Buildings at Hwaho Village that were owned by the Japanese (part of those shows only their sites)\*

\*This map was cited from *Hwaho Village of the Twentieth Century: Its Landscape and Our Memories of It* (Chang, S. et al. 2008: 18-19).

## 2. The Images of Worlds of Both Wealth and Benevolence

Kumamoto was fairly discreet in establishing his farm in Hwaho. He preserved the zelkova tree that was under his control. He constructed his

The Japanese authorities built the Office of the Japanese Government-General in the front of the Royal Hall of Chosŏn and constructed the Official Residence of the Governor-General in the rear of the same hall. The image of The Royal Hall symbolized the legitimacy, the authority and the identity of Chosŏn Korea. Japanese colonialists selected the sites for locating their principal buildings as if those put pressure upon the core energy of Chosŏn Korea from the directions of both the front and the rear. What they wanted was to remind Koreans of a lost Korean soul metaphorically (Yun, H. 2001: 30). The Japanese also used geomancy in an attempt to disrupt the lines of Korea's energy. For instance, they selected the areas that had been regarded by Koreans as the propitious ones, where they drove in steel stakes, built roads and railroads, or constructed official buildings and Shinto shrines to disconnect the lines of Korea's essential energy (recited from Yi, M. 1991: 208; Yun, H. 2001: 30). Yun suggested that Japanese colonial government had used Korean geomantic theories to construct buildings that symbolized Japan's authority in the propitious areas.

own house under the tree. He planted other trees around the zelkova tree and secured a spacious field nearby where a kind of park was formed (Photo 3). As time passed, the villagers' attitude toward Kumamoto gradually changed. As his farm became more prosperous, their ideas of him and his farm changed. They paid attention to the prosperity of his farm in relation to the location of the farm on the propitious site shaped like the mouth of dog in Sukkuji. One villager said that Kumamoto's farm flourished because of its location at the favorable site. Another said that he was indebted to the fortune of the village that he had stolen away for his own success. Yet another villager said that "the propitious site proved to be true" and that his selection of location at the site shaped like the mouth of a sleeping dog resulted in his accumulation of property that was reflected in the large scale of his rice storehouses.<sup>17</sup>

The precincts of Kumamoto's farm in Hwaho boasted a dignified appearance. The plains on which Hwaho village is located has only one small-sized mountain. He constructed the base of his business on that mountain. Within the precincts, the area of which was 17,000 p'yŏng (as of 1940, refer to Table 1), there were Japanese-style houses and a large storehouse built using modern methods of construction (refer to Photo 1). The house of the director of the farm was located just in front of the zelkova tree and in its vicinity,<sup>18</sup> while the houses for managers were lined in a row. The farm office was built in front of the director's house. There were 5 large rice storehouses in front of the farm office. Near the farm office was The Benevolence Clinic of Hwaho<sup>19</sup> (refer to Map 2 and Photo 4). Kumamoto's own house had a wide and long view. The buildings were constructed at a certain height, which assumed a domineering mien that fully served as symbols of both the rule and the control by the Japanese.

The arrangement and sizes of the buildings themselves depended on the

<sup>17</sup> There is a record on property of Kumamoto's farm in Hwaho. His property was valued approximately 5,000,000 won (currency of the day) and its annual revenue was estimated to 400,000 won during the 1940's (Yi, Y. 2004: 42).

<sup>18</sup> Kumamoto Rihei mostly stayed in Tokyo, Japan, after his farms in Korea was fully put on track. He entrusted the director with his farms during his absence in Korea. But he visited his farms in Korea once two years (Hong, S. 1993; 117).

<sup>19</sup> The office of farm collapsed in 2003 and now there is its site (#2 of Map 2).

status of their occupants within the hierarchy of the Japanese employees. At the top of hierarchy was the director responsible for the administration of the farm as a whole. Below the director were the chief of the accounts section and the chief of the farm produce section. The two chiefs were provided respectively with second-class houses though their houses were still better compared to those of lower ranked employees. The Korean employees had not been given houses until around 1936 when Kumamoto allowed the construction of two rooming houses for the Korean workers. The houses for the Korean workers were simpler than the houses for the Japanese workers. The arrangement and sizes of the buildings of Kumamoto's farm clearly reflected the colonial hierarchical order.

Kumamoto used both modernist and colonialist methods in the management of his farms. He sought out scientific farming methods in order to maximize his profit. He was a forerunner in the improvement of farmland. He made efforts to increase farming yields through the introduction of agricultural technology. There were 27 to 28 managers on the farms. He endeavored to recruit competent employees. He entrusted his managers with the management of the farm and retained them by providing them with comparatively high salaries. Managers were also responsible for leading the tenants in the use of agricultural technology. They told the tenants to use improved seeds and manure. They taught the tenants the methods of re-grading the livestock industry, too.

On the other hand, Kumamoto relied on the traditional Korean tenant system for production in his farms. He used middlemen that served between the landlord and tenants. He entrusted these middlemen with the management of both tenants and the receipt of rents (Photo 5). Kumamoto however was not always successful. He sometimes faced tenancy disputes that were mostly centered on rent payments. The rent that the tenants had to pay was comparatively high.<sup>20</sup> The tenants' dissatisfaction grew as they were forced to pay an additional fee for service to The Tongjin Irrigation Association that had been just established. Tenancy disputes arose frequently in Kumamoto's farms in the 1930's. For instance, in 1934, more than 400

---

<sup>20</sup> Refer to pages 45, 47, and 49 of Chang Songsu and others, *Hwaho Village of the Twentieth Century: Its Landscapes and our Memories*.

tenants of the farm in Hwaho petitioned both the authorities and the landlord to lower their rent. But their petition was useless and neither the authorities nor the landlord provided the tenants with any relief on their rent. The tenants' struggle for a reduction of rent resumed in May of 1935 and in November of 1937, 1,200 tenants of Kumamoto's farm in Hwaho gathered to declare their unwillingness to pay further rent.<sup>21</sup>

Amid frequent tenancy disputes, Kumamoto established the Benevolence Clinic. Some alleged that, by establishing this clinic, he was seeking to pacify his tenants' rage.<sup>22</sup> We are not sure that these allegations are correct. We think that further investigation into the clinic and Kumamoto's motivations related to it are necessary; however, we do feel that a brief discussion of the clinic is necessary. This free clinic opened in a Japanese-style house within the precincts of the farm in Hwaho in April 1935 (Photo 4).<sup>23</sup> Yi Yongchun, a young doctor from Severance Medical School, volunteered to serve in the clinic. For many of the tenants and their families who benefitted from the medical treatment provided by the clinic, it was their first experience with modern medicine.<sup>24</sup> Kumamoto's farm won popularity among the tenants thanks to the clinic and it became increasingly difficult to be recruited as a tenant of his farm. Dr. Yi Yong Chun devoted himself to promotion of the health of the tenants and their families. While treating this population, he realized that they suffered from malnutrition and were not immune to contagious diseases. He would remind Kumamoto of the importance of

<sup>21</sup> Refer to *Donga Ilbo* dated May 8, 1935 and November 23, 1937.

<sup>22</sup> Some of the interviewees alleged this, but its reliability is unclear.

<sup>23</sup> Kumamoto established clinics at three places: Kaijong, Chikyong, and Hwaho. With respect to our explanation of both Benevolence Clinic and the activities by Dr. Yi Yongchun, refer to *A Record on My Friends* (Yi, Y. 2004), *The Life of Dr. Yi Yongchun: A Benevolent Art Planted in Soil* (Hong, S. 1993), and the materials of various kinds including his statement which Yi Uimin, a nephew of Dr. Yi and president of Dr. Yi Yongchun Memorial Foundation, had provided us with.

<sup>24</sup> The number of the patients whom Dr. Yi treated one year after he started his service was about 7,000. The number of the visits by patients was 30,000 in the same year. At that time, there were about 3,000 tenants who belonged to Kumamoto's farm in Hwaho. A total number of the tenants and their family were 20,000. In the first year of his service, the number of treatment per family was counted 1.5 (Yi, Y. 2004: 28).





**Photo 1.** Buildings of Kumamoto's farm constructed on the heights have a lofty air and are placed on the propitious site that had been regarded by the Korean villagers as the mouth of a sleeping dog. Seen from the left, the first building was one of five storehouses for rice.

sanitation, hygiene, and preventive medicine within the village.<sup>25</sup> In the earlier stages of his work at Benevolence Clinic in Hwaho, Yi Yongchun would round throughout the three clinics located in Kaejong, Chigyong, and Hwaho. Due to the high numbers of patients at these clinics, Dr. Yi had difficulty treating all of them.<sup>26</sup> In 1939, Dr. Kim Sangun proceeded to his new post under the

<sup>25</sup> Yi Yongchun, a forerunner of preventive medicine in Korea, made a great contribution to the promotion of health of the villagers.

<sup>26</sup> Dr. Yi made the round of the three clinics once a week. He did it for six years. The





**Photo 2.** This house built near the zelkova tree was the residence of the farm director. This house, built in typical Japanese style, has a fine view of the whole village.



**Photo 3.** Zelkova tree standing in the rear area of the house of the farm director.





**Photo 4.** Benevolence Clinic of Hwaho established in 1935. The free clinic treated the tenants of Kumamoto's farm and their families.

approval of Kumamoto.<sup>27</sup> He, however, left there ten months later. In 1941, Dr. Kim Songhwan came. He did his best to treat the patients who visited him. It is clear that the free treatment that Kumamoto's farm had boasted of was based on the self-sacrifice and the devotion of the Korean doctors.

What did Kumamoto's farm mean to the Korean villagers? The farm had two contrary images and meanings to the villagers. One was the authority of wealth, accumulated and based on the colonialist mode of production. The old villagers still remember ox-carts driven by tenants queuing up to

---

distance between Hwaho and Kaijong in particular was too long. It is no wonder he got tired.

<sup>27</sup> But Dr. Kim Sangun left soon thereafter, so the villagers' memories of him are vague. Dr. Kim Songhwan followed him; he worked there until the liberation. The villagers thought that he had directly succeeded to Dr. Yi Yongchun's post. Dr. Kim Songhwan renovated the office of Kumamoto's farm and opened The Central Hospital of Hwaho there in 1947.



Photo 5. A photo of middlemen who belonged to the Hwaho branch of the Association for Middlemen of Kumamoto's Farm was on September 4, 1922.

enter the precincts of the farm. They also recall large piles of rice straw bales accumulated in the storehouse. They metaphorically describe their vivid memories of these scenes: "It was as if a gigantic dinosaur were sucking in its preys." In their view, Kumamoto and his farm were like a dreadful, cruel, and greedy predator and the Korean tenants were like an enervate prey being inhaled by such a predator. But, there was the other image of the farm as the humanist almsgiving of benevolence that is based on the medical treatments provided by the free clinic. The old villagers have vivid memories of the clinic. They recall that the clinic was always crowded with the tenants and their families who came to receive free treatment and the old villagers regard the clinic as a place of benevolence just like its name.

### 3. A Variety of the Colonists

The old villagers recall that there was a variety of classes among the Japanese who lived in Hwaho. Some of them remember the size of the land owned by the Japanese, their annual production, and the number of their tenants. The memory of these old villagers is verified by cross-checking written materials like the extant land register with an investigation into the size, location, construction style, building materials of the houses owned by the Japanese.

Kumamoto was at the top of the social structure of Japanese residents. Below him was Taue Taro, also a very successful landlord. Below Taue were other medium-sized landlords. And below them were small farmers. Taue owned 223 chōngbo of land that produced 7,000 sōk per year. He was wealthy but not the extent of Kumamoto. Likely spurred by competitiveness, he made attempts to make his house look more authoritative and constructed a two-story house (#15 of Map 2, Photo 6). Located on a low mountain, the house of Kumamoto appeared more grandiose and domineering. The houses of small landlords or small farmers were comparatively small in size. Their houses faced an alley or were located under the low mountain with poor views (Map 2, Table 1). These small landlords and farmers devoted themselves to increasing their land holdings and accumulating their wealth like their role models, Kumamoto and Taue.

#### 1) *Taue Taro*

Taue came from Kochi-Ken. He moved to Korea in 1913. He was among the Japanese immigrants recruited by the Oriental Development Company. He had a strong sense of business. After he settled in Hwaho, he took out low-interest loans from Industrial Bank and ran a money-lending business serving Koreans. He made money practicing usury which allowed him to buy more land. Although he has been held up as a model of the Japanese agricultural immigrants who worked his way up to being a wealthy landlord, he has been viewed negatively by the old villagers because he made money through usury and taking advantage of Koreans as customers.<sup>28</sup>

---

<sup>28</sup> The following statement by a villager helps us better understand Taue: “Industrial

Taue's house was located at the center of commercial quarter on the plains, about 500 meters away from the precincts of Kumamoto's farm.<sup>29</sup> He was a big landlord who had 5 to 6 managers responsible for the management of his farm and had about 500 tenants. He was able to supervise both managers and tenants easily because he lived in the village:

Taue's family lived on the second floor and they used the first floor as...their office. They used woods imported probably from Japan in building the... house... The pillars of the house were made of cedar trees. When I entered, I... smelled the fragrance of the cedar pillars. The cedar trees that were used... must have been imported from Japan. There are few cedar trees in Korea (a statement by Mr. Cho).

Mr. Cho, who had been a classmate of Taue's son, expressed what he had felt when he visited Taue's home. He was seemingly impressed by the fragrance of cedar when he entered a room at Taue's house. He himself lived in a thatched house in the Korean village, separated from the Japanese, and he was discriminated by the Japanese in school. After his visit to his Japanese friend's house, he realized why he had been separated from and discriminated by the Japanese. He was intoxicated with the fragrance emitted by the pillars made out of cedar trees imported from Japan. He was overwhelmed with the high quality of the interior arrangements including the straw mattress. He felt somehow cheap compared to the exotic and expensive environment of his friend's house. Through a number of similar experiences, he realized the superiority of the Japanese as reflected even in their homes.<sup>30</sup>

---

Bank was a Japanese money reservoir. Taue took out loans with low interest from the bank and ran money lending business with the Korean farmers as customers. When sitting, Koreans borrowed money, but, though they raced to, they could not repay their loans. If the Korean loan recipient visited him in his office to pay the money back, he would close his office and not respond to the visitor. Thus the loan recipient could not pay the money back on the due day. Taue took over the land owned by the loan recipient" (a statement by Mr. Chong).

<sup>29</sup> The address of his house was 331-1 Hwaho-ri, which can be verified by reading the Map 2.

<sup>30</sup> It seems that the rich Japanese landlords made efforts to build their palatial houses. As mentioned above, some would use the fragrant cedar tree imported from Japan





**Photo 6.** The two-story house of Taue that served as both his office and his home.

Unlike Kumamoto who mostly lived in Tokyo, Taue was an actual resident of the village who had more contact and interactions with the Korean villagers. The Korean villagers were able to get a better sense of who Taue had really been through their contact with him over contracts for tenancy, payments of rent, and loans of money. It also means that the Korean villagers came to have a real sense of the racial gap between the rich and relatively powerful Japanese and the poor and relatively powerless Koreans through their constant contact with Taue and his family.

## 2) *Small Farmers and Poor peoples*

Many of the Japanese agricultural immigrants who settled in Hwaho village

---

for building their houses. Others would use the woods from a remote mountainous region for the same purpose. According to an oral statement, when Kumamoto built his house at Kaejŏng, he used lumber carried from Mount Paektu (an oral statement by the daughter-in-law of Dr. Yi Yongchun).

were recruited and sent by the Oriental Development Company. The Company was established in December 1908, to promote the purchase of land in Korea and the immigration of Japanese to Korea. The Company purchased large tracts of land in the Kimje plains and established an immigrants' housing area on the purchased land. The company sold off the land to the agricultural immigrants who were provided with 2 to 5 chŏngbo per head. The price for the land was amortized over a long term with low interest rates. The Company's terms for the land depended on the economic position of the immigrants. For instance, the immigrant who bought 2 chŏngbo of land might amortize the price over 25 years at an annual interest of 6 percent on condition of postponement of amortization for 5 years after his immigration. On the other hand, the immigrant who bought 5 chŏngbo of land might pay 1/4 of a total amount of the price for the land upfront and then amortize the remainder at an annual interest of 7 percent for 25 years.<sup>31</sup> The Oriental Development Company promoted immigration of Japanese to Korea by offering Japanese agricultural immigrants favorable terms of purchase for land and by paying the expenses for their immigration and cultivation. The Company also built various kinds of public facilities such as a police box, a school, and a shrine in Hwaho village for the benefit of the Japanese immigrants.

Among the Japanese immigrants was a man named Nishimura Mitsuo. Working under the guidance of Taue, Nishimura learned how to make money in Korea. He bought land using money loaned at low interest rates from Industrial Bank. His purchased land was cultivated by tenants who had to share up to half of their crop with the landlord. He practiced usury with the Korean villagers as well. Finally, he himself became a wealthy landlord with an annual crop of 3,000 sok. He made further efforts to increase his property holdings. He aggressively acquired land, houses, stores, and even a blacksmith's workshop during the period between 1933 to 1935. He probably reached the pinnacle of his prosperity in the last years of the 1930's.

Yoshii Osa is another example of a successful Japanese agricultural immigrant. He practiced usury with the Korean villagers with the money loaned at low interest rates from Industrial Bank just as his predecessors,

---

<sup>31</sup> *Oriental Development Company of 20 Years*, 1928: 85.

Taue and Nishmura, had done. He once lent money at an interest rate of 50 percent. Mr. Yi, an old villager, spoke of Yoshii as follows: “Yoshii Osa was a typical usurer. He was notorious for usury among...the Japanese residents of Hwaho. He made big money by lending money at...high interests,” (an oral statement by Mr. Yi, a 90-year-old villager).

Some of the Japanese small farmers made money in Korea. And some of them like Hukui Masatoshi and Ikeda Hitoshi returned to Japan. Both Hukui and Ikeda immigrated to Korea from Kochi-Ken. Their houses, both still standing, were located in a remote area. Hukui’s house faced an alley while Ikeda’s was located behind the village. They had little contact with the villagers. Both were small farmers. In the case of Hukui, he cultivated his land himself with the help of several Korean employees. His house included the main building, a pigpen, a storehouse, and another building in which his employees lived.

According to an oral statement by Mr. Chong, a Japanese named Shiga was the poorest among the Japanese residents. Shiga was a farrier. Mr Chong says: “There was this person whose job was to put on the horseshoe on the bottom of the horse’s foot and he lived in front of Taue’s house. His family name was Shiga, but I had no idea of what his full name was. We just called him Shiga. The house where he lived was small and shabby, though it has disappeared now.” It seems that he owned neither a house nor land. We investigated materials including the land register but failed to find evidence of Shiga as a landowner. His social status is believed to have been also very low in that the villagers looked down upon him by calling him “Shiga, Shiga,” disregarding his full name.

#### 4. Consumption and New Technology

As many of the Japanese immigrants moved in, various kinds of stores appeared. A business quarter gradually formed around the center of the village. Kobayashi Store was a general store, selling general merchandise including groceries, which was run by a Japanese man named Kobayashi. The store was popular with the Japanese. The Koreans also sometimes dropped by to buy what they needed. Near the store was a blacksmith’s workshop run by Terada, a Japanese. The workshop mostly produced and sold farming tools.

Several steps away from the workshop had been a stationery shop where the children liked to drop by not only to buy school materials but also lottery cards and bread.

The Koreans in Hwaho village were surprised when a rice mill equipped with power-driven machinery appeared in their village. The owner of the mill was Nishimura Toshiaki. When he first arrived in Hwaho village, he worked at Taue's farm but then established and ran the mill by himself. The Japanese method of motorized rice-polishing was introduced for the first time at Hwaho. Koreans, in most cases, had traditionally eaten half-polished rice. But Nishimura's mill polished rice fully in order to improve its salability, which in turn enabled the Korean rice milled there to be exported back to Japan.

At the eastern entrance to the village was a Japanese style inn, Showa Inn, run by Mitsuda Kensaburo. He was one of the Japanese who immigrated to Hwaho in 1914. Hwaho was a busy village with several farm-related offices and many Japanese residents. Most of the inn's customers were Japanese. The inn was doing lively business. Mitsuda was able to buy land near the inn with the profits from his inn. The inn, marked with a signboard, stood at the entrance to the village. It was a commercial facility that symbolized modern ways of life. What's more, the inn was a sign of tertiary industries led by the services sector to come in the future.

## 5. The Introduction of Modern Education and Educational Zeal

In 1912, The Government-General promulgated a decree regarding public elementary education in Korea. By this decree, elementary educational institutions for Japanese children were established around Korea. Then a school for Japanese children was established in Hwaho village. In 1913, when the Japanese immigrants began to move to Hwaho, the site for school was secured. The school was named Simsang Kodŭng Sohakkyo (Normal High and Primary School of Hwaho). It opened for the Japanese children after the School Association was officially registered in 1917.<sup>32</sup> The school had higher-

---

<sup>32</sup> The size of the school site was estimated at around 1,600 p'yŏng: 371 p'yŏng of housing site addressed 392 Hwaho Village, 797 p'yŏng of woodland addressed 393 Hwaho village, and 474 p'yŏng of field addressed 394 Hwaho Village.



and lower-level programs covering both primary and high school level education. Children entered the school at age 6 and continued their study by moving up through the levels.

A separate school was established in the same year for the Korean children. The Korean school was named Kongnip Pot'ong Hakkyo of Hwaho (Public Normal School of Hwaho).<sup>33</sup> Some of the graduates of the Korean school entered the Japanese school after graduation. Mr. Cho was such a Korean student. He recalled his experience as a student in the Japanese school. There were 66 students: 46 Japanese and 20 Koreans. Each student had to pay tuition of 70 chon per month. The Korean students were not allowed to speak any Korean: "They could not graduate from the school if they spoke even a single Korean word." There were not very many Korean students who entered the Japanese school after they graduated from the Korean school.<sup>34</sup> The tuition fee was too high and the entrance examination was too competitive.

Establishing the schools in the village provided insight about modern education for the Korean residents. Even the poor Koreans started having their children attend the Korean school, with a priority given to their sons. But it was not easy for Koreans to have their children attend the Japanese school after their children graduated from the Korean school. Many of the Korean residents gave up sending their kids to the Japanese school largely due to expensive tuition as well as the intense competition surrounding the entrance examination. The Japanese school was the object of envy amongst Koreans. This is reflected in the fact that the old villagers not only remember the name of each of Korean students who were able to attend the Japanese

---

<sup>33</sup> The public school of Hwaho began as a four-year institution with three classes. There were 107 students and 3 teachers in the school. In 1931, the school changed from two-year to four-year institution. The number of both students and teachers increased: 332 students and 6 teachers. In 1942, there were 672 students and 9 classes in the school. Such an increase in the number of students reflected a heightened educational zeal by the Korean residents (cited from *A Historical Record of Hwaho Primary School* in the Archival Collection Research Institute for People's Life).

<sup>34</sup> When Mr. Cho graduated from the public school for Koreans, its name changed from Public Normal School of Hwaho to Public Lower School of Hwaho. The word "normal" was replaced by "lower."

school but that they speak highly of them.

The educational programs adopted by schools basically relied on a western style curriculum. The educational goal of each school was to push the Korean students to assimilate into the Japanese culture under the banner of “Korea and Japan are One,” with emphasis on “making them Japanese subjects.”<sup>35</sup> For instance, there was a Shinto Shrine and a House for the Photo of the Emperor standing at the center of the school. The shrine was built of wood and the house was built of stone.<sup>36</sup> According to statements by Mr. Chong, there was an official called “Shinto priest” who was in charge of managing both institutions. In the last years of Japanese rule, an official named Kataoka Kanematsu worked there. Living in a house just in front of the school, Kataoka carried out his jobs, which included the handling of the ceremonies and rituals regarding commemoration of national holidays like the emperor’s birthday. Mr. Chong remembered that all of the students were required to attend the worship at the Shinto Shrine in the Japanese school on January 1.

The Korean residents of Hwaho village witnessed the Policy of Nation based on Shinto (“god words”) that was aggressively promoted by the Japanese colonial government. The schools under the supervision of the colonial government attempted to implant the idea of nation centered around the emperor in the minds of youths through the Shinto Shrine and the House for the Photo of Emperor located at the school. The establishment of a Shinto shrine at the school and the appointment of a Shinto priest as an official represented the colonial government’s use of Shinto or god words as a key ideology to promote national unity.

---

<sup>35</sup> “An Oath of Allegiance as an Imperial Subject” officially announced in 1937 reflected such an ideology on education.

<sup>36</sup> The Shinto shrine was destroyed shortly after liberation. But because the house was solidly built, it was not removed. Hwaho Middle School was built on the site where the Normal High and Primary School of Hwaho had been. The middle school used the stones of the house as a symbol of the school by inscribed its school precepts on the stones of the house.

## V. CONCLUSION

During the Japanese colonial era, Japanese agricultural immigrants moved to Hwaho village in the Honam plains. These immigrants established their own residential area within the precincts of Hwaho village. The Koreans and the Japanese lived in close physical proximity to each other. This study focused on the contact between these two groups from a cultural point of view.

First, we investigated the formation of the Japanese residents' district. The area where the Japanese district was located was regarded as the most propitious site from which the existing Korean habitants had been driven out. There were various ways in which the Japanese immigrated to Hwaho village. Kumamoto Rihei was among the first pioneers in the formation of the Japanese district and investment in the Honam Plains. The Japanese residents engaged in various kinds of professions other than agriculture. However, most of the Japanese residents' district consisted of the 25 households of the Japanese agricultural immigrants from Kochi-Ken. They were recruited in 1913 by The Oriental Development Company in accordance with The Government-General's policy of promoting Japanese investment in and immigration to Korea. The Colonization Company was the largest landowner in the Honam Plains at that time and was able to provide the Japanese immigrants with not only land for cultivation, but various benefits and conveniences including long-term loans with low interest rates. There was a significant range in the wealth among the Japanese immigrants, from the very rich to the poor, but, generally speaking, the Japanese residents of Hwaho village were better off compared to their Korean counterparts. In this respect, the Japanese immigration to Hwaho reflected the Japanese colonialist encroachment into Hwaho's Korean villagers' economic, social, and cultural domains.

Second, we examined the changing aspects of residents of Hwaho village after the appearance of the Japanese from social, economic, and cultural perspectives. Hwaho village was divided into two districts: one for the Japanese and the other for the Korean. This geographical division revealed dichotomies between the rich and the poor, superiority and inferiority, and modern and pre-modern. Each district had its own social structure.

For instance, Kumamoto was the greatest landlord in all of Hwaho village. He owned much of the land and had many of tenants but was an absentee landlord. Below him on the hierarchy was Taue who was also a large landlord. Below him were several small landlords who were able to accumulate wealth by making Taue their role-model. There were also the Japanese who remained small farmers. Their social and economic positions were reflected in the features of their houses: location, size, design, and style. There were some limited interactions between the two districts. The Korean tenant farmers embodied the Japanese colonialist method in the management of their farms through their actual cultivation. The rich Japanese practiced usury with Korean villagers as customers. Through these types of limited contact, the Korean villagers began to have a sense of inferiority, feel powerless, and find themselves in poverty. In this sense, the Japanese impact on Hwaho village resulted in growing unhappiness and dissatisfaction among the Korean residents of the village.

Third, we examined the modern ways of life that the Korean villagers experienced under Japanese rule. Certain new commercial facilities emerged in the village after the Japanese moved in: a store that sold general merchandise including groceries, a blacksmith's workshop that manufactured and sold farming machinery, a stationery that sold school goods, candy, bread, and a Japanese style inn. These commercial facilities reflected the emergence of a modern society. What deserves particular notice was the emergence of the motor-powered rice mill in the village. This motorized machinery led to an innovation that served as one of the most important symbols of modernity.

Also of note is that modern educational institutions appeared in Hwaho village after the arrival of the Japanese. In the village, two schools opened: one for the Japanese children and the other for Korean children. The Japanese school had programs that took students from the primary level to the high school level but the Korean school only consisted of four primary grade levels. Differences like this represented a clear racial discrimination in education. The educational goal of both schools focused on pushing Korean students to assimilate into Japanese culture under the banner of "Korea and Japan are One," with emphasis on "making them Japanese subjects." This goal was not welcome by the Korean parents. Additionally, tuition for the Japanese

school was prohibitively expensive, and even the entrance examination was too difficult when their children applied. Thus many Korean parents did not bother pushing their children towards the higher education provided by the Japanese school. However some Korean parents were enthusiastic about the possibility of educating their children. Despite the difficulties they faced in having their children attend the Japanese school, some of the Korean parents pursued further education for their children with great zeal. It was because they thought, though vaguely, that education offered by the schools at that time was basically oriented toward modernism based on scientism and rationalism.

In sum, the Korean villagers witnessed the establishment of commercial facilities, a motor-driven mill, and two schools based on Western style curricula in the village. We feel that through these various points of contact with the Japanese, the Korean villagers set out on their long journey toward a modern Korean society.

## REFERENCES

### Books and Articles in Korean

- Chang, Song Man. Kwon, Bodurae. Kim, Sok Kun. Sin, Dong Won. O, Song Chol. Yu, Son Yong. Yun, Hai Dong and Chon, Jong Hwan. 2006. *Asking the Way to the Study of Korean Modernity*. Seoul: Tolbaegye Publishers (『한국근대성 연구의 길을 묻다』).
- Chang, Song Su. Hahm, Han Hee. Pak Sun Chol. Cho, Song Sil. Pak, Jin Yong and Mun Yeun. 2008. *Hwaho Village of the Twentieth Century: Its Landscape and Our Memories of It*. Seoul: Nunbit (『20세기 화호리의 경관과 기억』).
- Cho, Sung Yon. 1999. "The Formation of the Foundation of Agricultural Production and the Farm Management of the Japanese Landlords Centered on the Case of Kimje, North Chölla." *Studies of Folklore* 6: 383-407 ("일제하 농업생산기반의 형성과 일본인 대지주의 농장경영 - 전북 김제지역 사례를 중심으로 -." 『민속학 연구』 6: 383-407).
- Chon, Jongh Wan. 2006. "The Meanings of Landscape Study in the Interpretation of Area Culture." *A Collection of Articles of Chungwon Culture* 10: 65-87 ("지역 문화의 해석에 있어서 경관 연구의 함의." 『중원문화논총』 10: 65-87).
- Foucault, Michel. 1991. *Histoire de la Folie a Lage Classique*. transl. Kim Buyong

- Seoul: Gansarang (『광기의 역사』).
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1994. *Surveiller et Punir: Naissance de la Prison*, transl. O, Saeng Geun. Seoul: Nanam Publishers (『감시와 처벌: 감옥의 역사』).
- Gordon, Colin, ed. 1991. *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*. transl. Hong, Song Min. Seoul: Nanam (『권력과 지식: 미셸 푸코와의 대답』).
- Hong, Kum Su. 2008. *The Coastal Reclamation of North Chŏlla's Areas and the Change of Their Landscapes*. Seoul: National Museum for Folklore (『전라북도 연해지역의 간척과 경관변화』).
- Hong, Song Won. 1993. *The Life of Dr. Yi Yongchun: A Benevolent Art Planted in Soil*. Kunsan: Dr. Yi Yongchun Memorial Foundation (『쌍천 이영춘 박사의 생애, 흙에 심은 사랑의 인술』).
- Kim, Baik Yong. 2003. "From a Dynastic Capital to a Colonial City: A Comparative Study of Change in Cities of Kyongsong and Tokyo." *Journal of Korean Studies* 112: 76-102 ("왕조 수도로부터 식민도시로-경성과 도쿄의 시 구개정에 대한 비교연구." 『한국학보』 112: 76-102).
- Kim, Dong No. 2004. "Modernity and Colonialness in Daily Life in the Colonial Era." In *Japanese Colonial Rule and Daily Life*, ed., Institute for Korean Studies. Hyeon Publishers. pp. 13-36 ("식민지시기 일상생활의 근대성과 식민 지성." 『일제의 식민지배와 일상생활』).
- Kim, Jin Kyun and Chong, Kun Sik, eds. 1997. *The Subjectivity of the Modern and Colonial Rule Over Order*. Munhwa Kwahak Pulishers (『근대주체와 식민지 규율권력』).
- Kim, Juk Wan. 2006. "Colonialness and Modernity in the Open Ports: Design of Space and Symbols of Modernity." *Local History and Local Culture* 9(1): 129-157 ("한국 개항장 도시의 식민성과 근대성: 개항장 공간의 조직과 근대성의 표상." 『지방사와 지방문화』 9(1): 129-157).
- Kim, Yong Kun. 2000. "A Characteristic of Colonial Modernity under the Colonial rule Centered on the Experience of City Life in Kyongsong." *Society and History* 57: 11-44 ("일제하 식민지적 근대성의 한 특징-경성에서의 도시경험을 중심으로." 『사회와 역사』 57: 11-44).
- Ko, Sok Kyu. 2002. "A Review of Colonial Modernity and Nationalism in Korea." *Munhwa kwahak* 31: 98-117 ("다시 생각하는 한국의 식민지 근대성과 민족주의." 『문화과학』 31: 98-117).
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2004. *Culture in Historical Space of Mokpo as a Modern City*. Seoul: Seoul National University Press (『근대 도시 목포의 역사 공간 문화』).
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2007. "Mokpo as a Modern City: Historical Landscape and Culture."

- Historical Studies of Architecture* 16(2): 167-181 (“근대도시 목포의 역사경관과 문화.” 『건축역사연구』 16(2): 167-181).
- Kong, Jeuk and Chong Kunsik, eds. 2006. *Daily Life in the Colony: Rule and Crevice*. Munhwa Kwahak Publishers (『식민지의 일상: 지배와 균열』).
- Pak, Myong Kyu. 1997. “A Study of the Formation of Japanese Landlords and Their Characteristic Features.” *Journal of Korean Studies* 23(1): 1151-1183 (“일본인 대지주의 형성과 성격에 관한 연구.” 『한국학보』 23(1): 1151-1183).
- Pak, Son Hui. 2007. “The Colonial Modernity of the City: The Case of Chonju.” *Culture, History, Geography* 19(2): 58-76 (“일제강점기 도시공간의 식민지 근대성 – 전주를 사례로.” 『문화역사지리』 19(2): 58-76).
- Pyon, Hwa Yong. 2004. “The Colonial Modernity of Kunsan revealed in the Novel, ‘Turbid Stream.’” *Local History and Local culture* 7(1): 297-339 (“개별 소설 탁류에 나타난 군산의 식민지 근대성.” 『지방사와 지방문화』 7(1): 297-339).
- So, Sun Yol. 2003. “Types of Japanese Landlords: The Establishment of Pumin Hyophoe and the Management of the Farm.” *Studies of Agricultural History* 2(1): 123-145 (“일제하 일본인 지주의 일 존재형태 – 부민협회의 설립과 농장경영.” 『농업사연구』 2(1): 123-145).
- . 2005. “The Development of Management by the Japanese Landlords and its Structure: Several Cases of the Management by a Landlord.” *Korean Agricultural Sociological Association Journal* 4(1): 105-125 (“일제하 조선에서의 일본인 지주경영의 전개와 구조 – 몇 가지 지주 경영 사례를 통하여.” 『농업사연구』 4(1): 105-125).
- Song, Do Yong. 1994. “Cultural Subjectivity in the Process of Territorial Reorganization: A Case of Nationalism.” *Journal of Asian Studies* 86: 211-241 (“영토 재편성 과정 속의 문화적 주체범주 – 민족주의의 사례.” 『동방학지』 86: 211-241).
- . 1999. “A Socio-Cultural Interpretation of the Traditional Islamic City.” *Korean Cultural Anthropology* 32(1): 23-79 (“이슬람 전통도시 공간의 사회문화적 해석.” 『韓國文化人類學』 32(1): 23-79).
- . 2001. “Colonization and Reorganization of the city in a Modern Way.” *Korean Cultural Anthropology* 34(1): 59-87 (“식민지화와 도시공간의 근대적 재편성.” 『韓國文化人類學』 34(1): 59-87).
- The Seoul Institute for Social Sciences, ed. 1997. *Seeking the Border of Modernity*. Seoul: Saikil Publishers (『근대성의 경계를 찾아서』).
- Yi, Hye Un. 1992. “The Spread of Residential Areas by Races in Seoul under Japanese Colonial Rule.” *Our Hometown* 52: 105-155 (“일제침략기 서울의 민



- 죽별 거주지 분포.” 『향토서울』 52: 105-155).
- Yi, Ki Sok. 2001. “The City Growth of Seoul in the 20th Century.” In *The History of the Spatial Change of Seoul in the 20th Century*. Institute for The Development of Municipal Administration of Seoul: 29-97 (『서울 20세기 공간변천사』).
- Yi, Mong Il. 1991. *A Historical Study of Korean Geomantic Thought*. Taegu: Iril Publisher (『한국풍수사상사연구』).
- Yi, Yong Chun. 2004. *A Record on My Friends*. Kunsan: Dr. Yi Yongchun Memorial Foundation (『나의 교우록』).
- Yom, Bok Kyu. 2004. “The Spatial Formation in Colonial Modernization: City Planning and Its Spatial Formation, Variation, and Expansion in Modern Seoul.” *Munhwa kwahak* Vol. 39 (2004): 197-219 (“식민지근대의 공간형성—근대 서울의 도시계획과 도시공간의 형성, 변용, 확장.” 『문화과학』 39: 197-219).
- Yu, Je Hon. 1990. “The Process of Colonial Variation of Area Structure in the Honam Plains.” *Geography* 25(2): 35-48 (“호남평야에 있어서 지역구조의 식민지적 변용과정.” 『地理學』 25(2): 35-48).
- Yun, Hai Dong, Chon, Jong Hwan, Ho, Su, Hwang, Byong Ju, Yi, Yong Ki and Yun, Dai Sok. 2006. *Reading Modern Again*. Seoul: Yoksabipyongsa (『근대를 다시 읽는다』).
- Yun, Hung Ki. 2001. “The Retrospective and Prospective of Studies of Korean Geomancy.” *Korean Cultural Anthropology* 17: 11-61 (“한국 풍수지리 연구의 회고와 전망.” 『韓國思想史學』 17: 11-61).
- Yun, Jin Suk. 1990. *The City Sstructure of Pusan Under Japanese Imperial Rule*. Doctoral dissertation, Kyonghi University (“일제하 부산시의 도시구조”).
- Yun, Jong Suk. 1985. “A Historical, Geographical Study of the Open Ports and the Formation of Modern Cities Centered on the Case of Kunsan Port.” *Geography* 32: 74-99 (“개항장과 근대도시형성에 관한 역사지리학적 연구: 군산항을 중심으로.” 『지리학』 32: 74-99).

### Books and Articles in English

- Bhabha, Homi K. 1994. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge.
- Guptak, Akhil and James Ferguson, eds. 1997. *Culture, Power, Place: Explorations in Critical Anthropology*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Hirsch, E. and M. O'Hanlon, eds. 2003[1995]. *The Anthropology of Landscape: Perspectives on Place and Space*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Stewart, Pamela J. and Andrew Strathern, eds. 2003. *Landscape, Memory and History: Anthropological Perspectives*. Sterling: Pluto Press.



Sauer, C. 1963. "The Morphology of Landscape." In *Land and Life: A Selection of the Writings of Carl Sauer*, ed. J. Leighly. Berkeley: University of California Press.

## Materials

A Historical Record of Hwaho Primary School in Archival Collections, Research Center for People's Life History in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century (20세기민중생활사연구소 아카이브 소장자료 (화호초등학교 연혁지)).

*Donga Ilbo*. May 8, 1935 and November 23, 1937 (동아일보).

*Sae Chŏnbuk Sinmun* dated December 16, 2003 (새전북신문).

The Land Register of 1-824-4 Hwaho village, Sint'aein town, Chongup City (신태인읍 화호리 토지대장(1~824-4번지)).

The Cadastral Map of Hwaho village, Sint'aein town, Chongup (새주소 안내지도 - 새주소 도로명 및 건물번호 안내 (2006)).

The Guide Map of New Addresses of Chongup City: Guide to New Addresses of Roads and the Number of Buildings (2006).

The Oriental Development Company ed. 1918. *The Oriental Development Company of Ten Years*, Tokyo (『東洋拓植株植會社 十年史』).

\_\_\_\_\_. 1928. *The Oriental Development Company of Twenty Years*, Tokyo (『東洋拓植株植會社 二十年史』).

\_\_\_\_\_. 1939. *The Oriental Development Company of Thirty Years*, Tokyo (『東洋拓植株植會社 三十年史』).

The Government-General of Chosŏn, ed. 1935. *The Administration of Twenty-five Years* Vol. I, II (『施政二十五年史』上, 下).

紫藤義雄. 1930 (昭和五年). 朝鮮施政二十年書.

